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Willcox, Hamilton

Freedom's conquests

New York

[1888]

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Freedom's Conquest

THE GREAT SPREAD

— OF —

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

THROUGH THE WORLD,

WITH A

ROLL OF HONOR

SHOWING OVER

One Hundred Regions

WHERE IT NOW EXISTS,

IN AMERICA, AFRICA, EUROPE, ASIA AND OCEANIA.

By HAMILTON WILLCOX, M. S., L. L. B.,
Chairman State Executive Committee of New York Woman Suffrage Party,
and Author of

"Suffrage a Right, Not a Privilege." (1867.)
"First Argument before House Committee of Congress
Against Women's Disfranchisement in the District of
Columbia." (1868.)
"Review of the Judiciary Committee's Report on
Woman Suffrage New Jersey Assembly." (1868.)
"First and Subsequent Arguments Before Congressional
Committee Against Disfranchisement of Women
of the Territories." (1869, etc.)
"Woman's Sphere." (1870.)
"Fifty Reasons Against Woman's Disfranchisement." (1880.)
"A Law Repealing the Disfranchisement of Women
at School Elections. Passed by the New York Legislature,
1880."
"Brief on the Legislature's Power to Extend the Suffrage,
For the Assembly Judiciary Committee." (1880.)
"Reply to Attorney General's Opinion Against School
Suffrage in Cities." (1880.)

"Reply to Superintendent of Public Instruction's
Opinion Against Mothers' Right to School Suffrage." (1880.)
"Objections to Amending the Constitution." (1880.)
"Woman Suffrage Constitutional." (1881.)
"Reply to Attorney-General Russell." (1882.)
"Circular to School Commissioners Regarding Woman
Suffrage at School Elections." (1883.)
"Why Attorney-General Russell Should Not be Re-
elected." (1883.)
"Buffalo Platform of N. Y. Woman Suffrage Party." (1884.)
"Bills to Prohibit Disfranchisement, and Protect the
Common Law Rights of Women, in the New York
Legislature, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884 and 1885."
"Cases of the Legislature's Power Over Suffrage." (1885.)
"Text of New York Suffrage Law, with Notes." (1885.)
"Women's Common Law Right To Vote." (1887), etc.

Reprinted, with additions, from Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper.

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JOHN W. LOVELL CO., 14 VESEY STREET.
DECEMBER, 1888.

SEE POSTSCRIPT ON BACK.

FREEDOM'S CONQUESTS;
THE GREAT SPREAD
— OF —
WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

By HAMILTON WILLCOX.

[The author desires to make his acknowledgments for much of the important information here condensed, to Lord Knutsford, of the British Colonial Office, Downing street, London, and his subordinates, Messrs. Edward Winesfield and R. H. Meade; to Viscount Cross, of the India Office, Whitechapel, London, and his subordinates, Secretary C. A. Bernard and Mr. J. A. Godley; to Sir John A. Macdonald, Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada; to Hon. John Robson, Premier of British Columbia; to Hon. Joseph A. DeJoy, Assistant Attorney General of Quebec; to Miss Caroline Ashurst Biggs, editor of the *Englishwoman's Review*, London; to Miss Lydia E. Becker, Secretary National Society for Woman's Suffrage, Manchester, and editor of the *London Women's Suffrage Journal*; to Miss Helen Blackburn, Secretary West of England Woman Suffrage Association, Bristol, compiler of the "Women's Suffrage Calendar"; to Miss Isabella M. S. Tod, Secretary Woman Suffrage Society of Ireland, Belfast; to Mr. Henry B. Blackwell, Secretary American Woman Suffrage Association, Boston; to Mr. George Kennan, the distinguished explorer of Russia and Siberia; to Mr. Theodore Stanton's "Woman Question in Europe;" to Baroness Gripenberg, of the Board of Education, Helsingfors, Finland; to Mrs. Caroline Healy Dall's "Woman's Rights Under the Law;" to Sir Charles W. Dilke's "Greater Britain;" to Mrs. Lucy Stone's *Woman's Journal*, Boston; to Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby's *Woman's Tribune*, Beatrice, Neb.; to Mr. George W. Olney, compiler of the *World Almanac*; to Mrs. Mary McNeil, President District W. C. T. U., Toronto, Ont.; to Mrs. Matilda Joslyn Gage, Fayetteville, N. Y., and her "History of Woman Suffrage;" to Hon. James A. Bayard, Secretary of Arizona; to Mr. James L. Hughes, Inspector of Schools, Toronto, and others.

He will be very grateful to any one who will send him farther information on this subject.]

Both foes and friends of woman's freedom are unaware how far her suffrage has been gained. They never dream that her liberty covers an area greater than any of the famous empires of history, and than any of to-day. Both fancy that it exists mainly in one or two obscure nooks. To inform both, to abash foes and cheer the workers for the Right,—and to enlighten and rouse the indifferent—the following facts have been toilsomely gathered. What a labor it is, none know who have not tried.

Foes of woman's freedom hold that she is inherently and hopelessly unfit for any voice in government; that she has no right whatever to any share in the State which she lives under, and must obey and help support; that the principle of the Declaration of Independence, that all are entitled to a share of political power, does not apply to her. They hold that her endless disfranchisement is ordained of God; that any objection to it is impious, silly, and presumptuous, to a degree that justifies exclusion of the objectors from respectable society, warrants persecution of these objectors in business and the church, and entitles themselves to disregard the commonest rules of courtesy and truthfulness, and to heap on those who claim political liberty for women, every kind of insult and slander. Wherever these "chivalrous" men have power, this is the rule by which they act—that women never shall have the least degree of political suffrage.

This being the principle, the slightest concession of suffrage to any woman abandons the principle of sex disfranchisement. The matter then becomes merely a question how far such disfranchisement continues, and how long it will.

How far, then, has the disfranchisement of women been abandoned? Briefly survey the world.

NORTH AMERICA.

The large province of ONTARIO touches the whole northern bounds of New York and Michigan, and part of those of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Wisconsin and Minnesota, and reaches to the shores of Hudson's Sea. This great region, throughout which women vote (unless married) on like terms with their brothers for all elected officers save two, has a *hundred and*

two thousand square miles. It is more than twice the size of New York; nearly equals New York and Michigan together; equal to Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey and Maryland; much larger than Maine, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward's Island; greater than Pennsylvania and Ohio; than Virginia, West Virginia and Maryland; than South Carolina and Georgia; than Kentucky and Tennessee; than Illinois and Indiana; than Alabama and Mississippi; than Louisiana and Arkansas.

Crossing the ocean, ONTARIO is more than double the size of England; about equals England, Scotland, Wales, Belgium and Holland; larger than Ireland, Portugal, Denmark and Switzerland; than all the German Empire outside of Prussia; nearly equals Italy and Sicily; is about the area of Hungary, Croatia and Slavonia; greater than Turkey, Greece and Montenegro; much larger than Barca; almost as great as Tripoli; larger than Tunis, Nubia and Natal; than Liberia and Orange Free State; than Cuba and all the West Indies; than Uruguay or Paraguay; than British Guiana, and than French and Dutch Guiana together.

In the adjoining province of QUEBEC, which lies immediately north of New England and stretches to Hudson's Sea and Labrador, women are voters in the famous cities of Quebec and Montreal, and in various other cities, by provincial law.

Next, WYOMING, where women vote for every office for which their brothers do, and on the same terms. This great Territory has ninety-eight thousand square miles, so near the size of Ontario that most of the above comparisons apply to it. But some others will be interesting.

It is half as large again as all New England, and nearly as large as New England and New York. It is about half as large as New York, New Jersey and Virginia; more than twice Pennsylvania and Delaware; larger than North and South Carolina; than South Carolina and Florida.

WYOMING is over three and a fourth times the size of Scotland; about an eighth larger than all England, Scotland and Wales; more than three times the size of Ireland; nearly half the area of France or Germany; over half that of Spain; above two and a half times that of Portugal; much larger than Italy or Hungary; four-fifths that of Norway; half as large again as Turkey; larger than Bulgaria, Montenegro, Rumania, and Servia together; five-twelfths the extent of the whole Austro-Hungarian empire; nearly nine times that of Belgium; seven and a half times that of Denmark; nearly four times that of Greece; eight times that of Holland; two-thirds that of Finland; above five times that of Servia; more than six times that of Switzerland; a fourth larger than Belgium and Denmark; Greece and Switzerland together; about nine-twentieths the mileage of Morocco; five-eighths that of Algeria; over double that of Tunis; a fourth that of Egypt; above a third that of Afghanistan; five-sevenths that of Beloochistan; a sixth

larger than Corea; two-thirds the area of Japan; half that of Anam; half that of Burma; a third that of Siam; five-sevenths that of Syria; in excess of that of Nepal and Ceylon combined; two-fifths greater than Malacca; about half that of Abyssinia; four-ninths that of Cape (of Good Hope) Colony; seven times that of Liberia; four-ninths that of Madagascar; more than double that of Mozambique; four and a half times that of Natal; nearly three times that of Nubia; two-fifths more than Orange Free State; nearly ten-elevenths that of Transvaal; about five-ninths of Surinam; nearly greater than Celebes; nearly double the size of Java; almost equal to that of all New Zealand; nearly an eighth larger than Victoria (Australia); almost four times as big as Tasmania; two and a fourth times as much as Cuba; larger than Chihuahua, Sonora, or any State of Mexico; double the size of Nicaragua, and larger than Guatemala, Honduras and San Salvador conjoined; two-fifths of Chili or Ecuador; greater than Uruguay, Paraguay or British Guiana; and than French and Dutch Guiana united; more than half as large as Quebec; five times as large as Nova Scotia; three and a half times as large as New Brunswick.

BRITISH COLUMBIA, where women likewise vote for all elective officers but member of Parliament, contains three hundred and forty-one thousand square miles. It is larger than eleven of the Atlantic States together; than Texas, Louisiana and Missouri united; than the combined extent of Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana and Michigan; than the joint area of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Nebraska; than the total mileage of Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona; than Texas and Indian Territory; than the whole of Utah, Idaho and Nevada; equal to California, Oregon and Washington. It exceeds the British Isles, France and Switzerland; it surpasses the size of Germany, Italy and Holland; of Austria, Hungary, Turkey, Greece and Montenegro; of Sweden, Norway and Denmark. It equals Spain, Portugal, Italy, Sicily and Sardinia combined; also Madagascar and Transvaal. It is greater than Siam; than Afghanistan and Nepal; than Syria and Beloochistan; double the Japanese Empire; larger than all Mongolia; than Nubia, Abyssinia, Mozambique and Zanzibar; than Cape Colony, Orange Free State and Natal; than New South Wales; than the vast island of Borneo; than Sumatra, Java, Celebes and Mindanao; than New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec and Ontario; than Chili and Uruguay.

KANSAS, the State where municipal woman suffrage exists, contains eighty-two thousand square miles. It is thus greater than New York, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island; than all New England, New Jersey and Delaware. It equals Pennsylvania and Maryland; nearly as large as Virginia; nearly double Virginia; equals both Carolinas; exceeds Ohio and Indiana; equals Kentucky and Tennessee; exceeds Ireland, Scotland, Wales and Belgium; also Turkey and Servia; also Greece, Belgium, Holland, Denmark,

Switzerland, and Montenegro; also Bulgaria and Rumania; also all Germany but Prussia; it equals Corea; exceeds Nepal; is more than treble Ceylon; larger than the whole Malay peninsula; than Tunis and Mozambique; nearly equal to Orange Free State with Liberia added; larger than the great island of Celebes; than the other great island, Java; than the three Central American States of Nicaragua, Costa Rica and San Salvador; than the other two, Guatemala and Honduras; than all the West Indies; than British Guiana or Uruguay. KANSAS is one-fourth greater than all New England; sixty-seven per cent. greater than New York; eighty-two per cent. greater than Pennsylvania; greater than the joint extent of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, and Rhode Island—of nine States of the Union combined, and greater than either of the original thirteen; than a majority of the thirteen together, and than either of thirty-two of to-day's thirty-eight!

But there is a greater region in the United States where women exercise suffrage, though not at the polls. Many will be surprised to learn that this is—TEXAS! In that State the school officers are chosen by petitions to the county, and for their appointment, and he of course appoints those whose petitions are most largely signed. These petitions women, on the same terms with their brothers, can sign, and thus practically vote without leaving home. TEXAS has two hundred and sixty-five thousand square miles, and is larger than California and Oregon; nearly equal to all the Atlantic States but three; to all the other States on the Gulf; larger than Ontario and Dakota; than Montana and Arizona; than the whole Austro-Hungarian Empire, with Switzerland added; than the whole German Empire, with Belgium, Holland and Denmark; much larger than France and than all the British Islands added to Norway; nearly equal to Asia Minor, almost as large as the vast island of Papua, and well-nigh the size of all Poland; larger than Tunis, Barca and Fezzan; equal to Algeria and Tripoli; larger than the other great island, Madagascar; than Tunis and Morocco; than Ecuador, Chili, and Guiana; than all the Eastern States north of the Carolinas.

But this is not all. For five thousand miles, from Atlantic to Pacific, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Puget Sound, without one gap, stretches a belt of thirty States, Territories and provinces where women have begun to exercise some degree of self-government. In every Territory but one (New Mexico) some law has been passed, more or less relieving women from disfranchisement! When the sun's rays at Cape Breton first touch the shore of civilized America, they fall on women whom Nova Scotia's laws make free; and these bear witness to a long chance of civil liberties, they strike but one spot (Maine) where women are wholly enslaved; and when they fade from the beach of Queen Charlotte Islands, they bid farewell, in sunset's glowing hues, to thousands of women whom British

Columbia has enfranchised. This vast realm is wondrous too for breadth. From Cape May to Hudson's Sea; from the Tennessee border to the Saskatchewan river; from the Alaska boundary to the Mexican Gulf, reaches this mighty region where woman is in some measure free! and beside its splendid length of five thousand miles, its greatest breadth is two thousand! From the petition-vote for Texas school officers, the petition-vote of Arkansas and Mississippi for and against liquor license, the taxpayer's school vote of Vermont and the widow's school vote of Kentucky, to the full, free, equal suffrage of Wyoming, the degrees of woman's enfranchisement vary; but everywhere is the principle rejected, that never may women vote; the iron rule of relentless, endless disfranchisement is broken! Behold the figures; the facts exceed the power of words:

WOMAN SUFFRAGE BELT.

Arizona,	113,000 square miles.
Arkansas,	54,000 " "
British Columbia,	341,000 " "
Colorado,	104,000 " "
Dakota,	140,000 " "
Idaho,*	64,000 " "
Indiana,	36,000 " "
Kansas,	82,000 " "
Kentucky,	40,000 " "
Manitoba,	123,000 " "
Massachusetts,	8,000 " "
Michigan,	59,000 " "
Minnesota,	85,000 " "
Mississippi,	49,000 " "
Montana,	146,000 " "
Nebraska,	77,000 " "
New Brunswick,	27,000 " "
New Hampshire,	9,000 " "
New Jersey,	8,000 " "
New York,	49,000 " "
Nova Scotia,	21,000 " "
Ontario,	102,000 " "
Oregon,	96,000 " "
Quebec,	188,000 " "
Texas,	265,000 " "
Utah,*	85,000 " "
Vermont,	9,000 " "
Washington,	90,000 " "
Wisconsin,	56,000 " "
Wyoming,	98,000 " "

2,630,000 square miles.

In round numbers TWO AND A HALF MILLIONS OF SQUARE MILES! Equal to six-sevenths of this country without Alaska, and to five-sevenths with it; nearly equal to the enormous Northwest (Hudson's Bay) Territories, nearly treble the organized Dominion of Canada, much larger than Russia, far larger than all the rest of Europe! larger than China, Mongolia, Manchouria and Siam; larger than all Asiatic Turkey, Arabia and Persia; greater than all India, Thibet and Afghanistan; larger

*Idaho, Utah and Washington are included because, though their woman suffrage laws are temporarily inoperative, their Legislatures have not repealed them, public sentiment in those Territories favors them, and as soon as the wicked pressure from without ceases, those laws will again operate.

than the Great Sahara; than all the organized states of Africa; than Venezuela, Colombia, Peru and Bolivia!

812,000 square miles of this are in the Dominion of Canada; all its organized provinces but one (Prince Edward's Island).

1,820,000 are in the United States, and, even counting Alaska, are more than half our area, and larger than the whole of thirty-six of our thirty-eight States!

EUROPE.

In ENGLAND, SCOTLAND and WALES, women (unless married) vote for all elective officers but one (member of Parliament), on like terms with their brothers. They will soon vote for Parliament too.

In IRELAND women vote everywhere for poor-law guardians; in Dundalk and other seaports, for harbor boards; and in Belfast for all municipal officers.

In SWEDEN their suffrage is about the same as in Britain; and they vote, too, indirectly for members of the House of Lords.

In RUSSIA, women, heads of households, vote for all elective officers, and on all local questions. In AUSTRIA-HUNGARY women vote (by proxy) at all elections, including members of provincial and imperial Parliaments.

In CROATIA and DALMATIA they vote at local elections in person.

In ITALY widows vote for members of Parliament.

In FINLAND women vote for all elective officers.

ENGLAND, whose common law has for ages recognized the right of women to vote on the same terms as their brothers, has fifty thousand square miles. It is about the size of New York; larger than New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey and Maryland; than Pennsylvania, Delaware and Rhode Island; than any Atlantic State but North Carolina, Georgia or Florida; than Louisiana or Mississippi, on the Gulf; than Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, West Virginia, or Indiana; than either of twenty States of the Union. It is larger than Ireland and Switzerland together; than Scotland, Wales and Holland; about equal to Portugal and Denmark; larger than Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Saxony and Baden together; than Rumania; than Greece, Serbia and Montenegro together; than Guatemala or Honduras; almost equal to Nicaragua; greater than Cuba and Jamaica together; than Hayti and all the rest of the West Indies; than Orange Free State; double Bulgaria; a fourth larger than Iceland; nearly double Tasmania.

IRELAND equals all New England but Maine. It is almost as large as Maine; as West Virginia; New Jersey; nearly equal to Indiana; much larger than New Brunswick or Nova Scotia; larger than Scotland; than Sweden proper; than Galicia; larger than Belgium and Holland joined.

RUSSIA has two millions and sixty thousand square miles. It is a third larger than all the rest of Europe; larger than all the States of the Union but California; half as large again

as all the Territories; nearly as much greater than all India; a fourth more extensive than China; over double Arabia; more than treble Persia or Thibet; four times the size of Egypt; four times that of Assyria; as large as the Great Sahara; more so than Venezuela, Peru, Chili and Colombia.

ASIA.

In BRITISH BURMA women taxpayers vote in the rural tracts.

In MADRAS PRESIDENCY (Hindoostan) they can do so in all municipalities.

In BOMBAY PRESIDENCY they likewise can.

In all the countries of RUSSIAN ASIA they can do so wherever a Russian colony settles. The Russians are colonizing the whole of their vast Asian possessions, and carry with them everywhere the "mir" or self-governing village, wherein women heads of households vote.

AUSTRALASIA.

Some of the largest conquests of Freedom have been made in Australasia. Municipal suffrage exists in New Zealand, and the Legislature has resolved that women shall vote for members of Parliament. It also exists in VICTORIA, NEW SOUTH WALES, QUEENSLAND and SOUTH AUSTRALIA. The latter, whose Parliament has declared for women's voting at Parliamentary elections too, and where they are soon to do so, has *nine hundred and sixteen thousand square miles*. It is larger than all the United States east of the Mississippi; greater than Texas, Indian Territory and Alaska; than California and Mexico; larger than the British Islands, France, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Portugal, Denmark, Switzerland, Holland and Belgium; than Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Turkey, Finland, Rumania, Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro; greater than all British India; than Persia, Syria and Belochistan; than all native India, Nepal and Siam; than Asiatic Turkey and Japan; than Mongolia, Manchuria and Afghanistan; than Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt and Nubia; than Abyssinia, Madagascar, Cape Colony, Transvaal, Mozambique, Zanzibar and Natal; than all the provinces of the Dominion of Canada; more than double the organized part of the Northwest Territories; equal to Bolivia with Uruguay added; greater than Colombia, Ecuador, British and French Guiana; than Peru, Chili and Paraguay; than Venezuela, Dutch Guiana and Uruguay. The area of municipal suffrage in Australasia is over *two millions of square miles*; almost equal to Russia, a third greater than all the rest of Europe; greater than all the States of the Union but California; fifty per cent. larger than all the Territories; forty-three per cent. greater than all India; twenty-five per cent. greater than China; double Arabia; more than treble Thibet or Persia; quadruple Egypt; quadruple Assyria; equal to the Great Sahara; greater than Colombia, Venezuela, Peru and Chili.

ISLANDS.

On opposite sides of the globe are two small islands; one in the British seas, the other in the South Pacific, both so small as to be mere specks on the ocean—the ISLE OF MAN, with but two hundred and eighty square miles, and PITCAIRN ISLAND, with not a tenth as many—where women have full suffrage. The Manxmen have had women voting about five years, the Pitcairners about a hundred. The ISLE OF MAN, though, has over fifty thousand people.

There are also two great islands, opposite each other on the globe, where women are free to vote. TASMANIA, or Van Diemen's Land, in the South Pacific, has twenty-six thousand square miles; ICELAND, in the North Atlantic, has thirty-nine thousand. TASMANIA, with municipal suffrage, is larger than Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut and Rhode Island; than New Jersey, Maryland and Delaware; than West Virginia; than Nova Scotia; about equal to New Brunswick; larger than Belgium and Holland; twice the size of Denmark; thrice that of Wales; larger than either Greece, Bulgaria, Servia, Switzerland or Wurtemberg; than Baden, all the Saxon States and Elsass-Lorraine together; twice the extent of Liberia; larger than Natal; four times the area of all the Sandwich Islands; larger than Costa Rica; six times the size of Jamaica; eight times that of Porto Rico; nearly equal to Hayti; thrice the extent of British Honduras.

ICELAND, where women have full suffrage, is larger than Maine; larger than all the rest of New England; nearly double New Jersey and Maryland; almost as large as Virginia; much larger than South Carolina; nearly equal to either Tennessee, Kentucky or Ohio; larger than Indiana; larger than Scotland and Wales; larger than Ireland and Wales; larger than Belgium, Holland and Denmark; than Portugal; than Switzerland and Servia; much larger than Greece and Montenegro; much more so than Bulgaria, or Ceylon; more so than Mozambique or Nubia, or than Liberia and Natal together; equal to Croatia, Servia, and Dalmatia; nearly so to Tunis; it much exceeds New Brunswick, is almost double Nova Scotia, and exceeds Hayti, San Domingo, Porto Rico and Jamaica united; also Costa Rica and San Salvador; is equal to Honduras; to Bavaria, Wurtemberg and Hesse, and larger than Saxony, Baden, Mecklenburg and all the rest of the German Empire but Prussia!

THE ISLANDS ROUND GREAT BRITAIN are mostly parts of the kingdom and subject to its law. The Isle of Wight and the Scilly Islands off the English shore; Anglesea, and the famous Isle of Holyhead, off the coast of Wales; Arran Bute, the Hebrides, Orkneys and Shetlands, adjoining Scotland; all are under the noble common and statute law that gives single women and widows the power to vote on the same terms with their brothers. The Hebrides have seventy inhabited isles; the Orkneys thirty; the Scillys a hundred and forty; the Shetlands thirty-two; total two hundred and seventy-five smaller islands, surrounding the great island of Britain, wherein woman's liberty

is in great part accorded. There are over three hundred more which are not permanently inhabited; but whenever they are settled, it will be under the same wise, just law. In Achil, the Arrans, the Rosses, and numerous smaller islands that surround Ireland, the women taxpayers are free to vote for poor law guardians.

This freedom of woman in the British archipelago, compared with her disfranchisement in the adjacent Continental countries, inclines one to pray with Whittier:

"Come once again, O blessed Lord!
Come walking on the sea!
And let the mainland hear the word
That sets the islands free!"

In the large island of SARDINIA widows can vote as in the Italian mainland. It is larger than Wales, larger than New Jersey, larger than any New England State but Maine. So they can in the greater island SICILY, which is nearly equal to Greece, double the area of Belgium, larger than Bohemia, Croatia, Transylvania, Servia or Nova Scotia, and much larger than Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Hanover or Piedmont; nearly equal to West Virginia; equal to Maryland, Delaware and New Jersey; and to Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut. So they can in the Aegades, the Lipari islands, Ischia, Giglio, Elba, the refuge of the first Napoleon, Capraia, the home of Garibaldi, Capri the beautiful—and in all the multitude of isles that lie near Italy, Sardinia and Sicily.

Gottland and the other islands of WISBY, in the Gulf of Bothnia, are parts of Sweden, and women can vote there on the same terms as on the mainland. So they can in Oeland, on the Baltic Sea, and Holmen in the Gulf of Bothnia.

The Aland Islands in that Gulf are part of Finland, and subject to its municipal suffrage laws.

Dagol and Oesel in the Baltic, and the large island of Saghalien on the Pacific coast of Siberia, are under Russian law. So are the multitude of islands in the Caspian Sea.

Grand Menan, and its surrounding islets, in the Bay of Fundy, are under the law of New Brunswick. The Isles of Shoals are under that of New Hampshire. Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, Naushon, and the many other islands of Massachusetts, are under the school suffrage law. Grand Isle in Lake Champlain is under that of Vermont. The famous Thousand Isles of the St. Lawrence River, Grand Island and Goat Island in Niagara River, Staten Island in New York Harbor, Green Island on the Hudson, Long Island, Shelter Island, and many smaller islands on the sea, are under that of New York. The multitude of islands in Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, Superior and Michigan, and in Green and Georgian Bays, are all parts of communities where woman suffrage in some degree exists. Ship Island, and the other islands of the Gulf of Mexico, belonging to Mississippi, are under that State's license law. Galveston Island, and others belonging to Texas, are under its school law. The small islands around Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand are under those colo-

nies' laws. The number of islands where women can vote in ist be two thousand.

For the whole world, the figures are astounding. Behold them:—

FREEDOM'S ROLL OF HONOR.

	Square Miles.*	Population.
Abruzzi.....	6,676	1,302,966
Amoor.....	173,353	41,440
Anglesa.....	346	51,040
Apulia.....	8,541	1,464,604
Arran.....	185	5,334
Arizona.....	113,020	90,000
Arkansas.....	53,850	1,200,000
Austria.....	12,288	2,727,365
Baltic Russia.....	58,931	3,268,169
Basilicata.....	4,122	517,069
Bohemia.....	19,953	5,357,134
Bombay.....	123,142	23,325,053
British Burma.....	88,556	3,707,446
British Columbia.....	341,305	49,459
Bukowina.....	4,636	548,518
Bute.....	60	10,064
Calabria.....	6,663	1,206,302
Campagna.....	6,397	2,734,592
Carinthia.....	4,006	378,705
Carniola.....	3,857	469,996
Caucasus.....	178,839	5,749,509
Central Asia (Russ an).....	1,286,874	4,505,876
Colorado.....	103,925	325,000
Croatia.....	13,129	791,845
Dakota.....	149,100	600,000
Dalmatia.....	4,937	476,987
Eastern Russia.....	540,983	15,143,715
Emilia.....	7,920	2,113,828
England.....	50,879	24,608,391
Finland.....	144,222	2,728,021
Galicia.....	30,212	5,951,954
Gothland.....	35,335	2,567,194
Great Russia.....	835,031	24,155,534
Hebrides.....	3,000	115,000
Holyhead.....	15	5,916
Hungary.....	87,045	11,530,307
Ikutsk.....	1,517,063	251,977
Iceland.....	39,543	71,300
Ieniseisk.....	992,832	372,862
Idaho.....	64,800	97,250
Indiana.....	36,350	2,400,000
Ireland.....	32,529	5,159,839
Irkutsk.....	309,177	338,629
Isle of Man.....	280	53,492
Kansas.....	82,080	1,600,000
Kentucky.....	40,400	1,940,585
Kustenland.....	3,074	582,079
Liguria.....	2,053	843,812
Little Russia.....	86,429	7,635,361
Lombardy.....	9,086	3,460,824
Madras.....	138,856	38,839,181
Manitoba and Kee vatin.....	409,275	65,954
Marches.....	3,751	915,419
Massachusetts.....	8,215	2,005,763
Michigan.....	59,915	2,078,658
Military Frontier } (Austria).....	7,239	679,228
Minnesota.....	83,365	1,400,000
Mississippi.....	46,810	1,400,000
Montana.....	146,080	130,000
Moravia.....	8,555	2,151,619

	Square Miles.*	Population.
Naples.....	439	907,732
Nebraska.....	76,855	1,000,000
New Brunswick.....	27,174	321,233
New Hampshire.....	9,305	378,000
New Jersey.....	7,815	1,330,000
New South Wales.....	325,000	750,000
New York.....	49,170	5,709,969
New Zealand.....	106,260	463,729
Norrlund.....	99,673	598,819
Nova Scotia.....	20,907	440,572
Ontario.....	101,733	1,923,228
Oregon.....	96,039	250,000
Orkneys.....	2,448	31,774
Piedmont.....	11,200	2,899,564
Piteairn Island.....	8	200
Poland.....	54,356	6,136,792
Primorsk.....	731,910	500,512
Quebec.....	188,688	1,359,027
Queensland.....	678,600	226,077
Rome.....	4,553	826,704
Salzburg.....	2,757	153,159
Sardinia.....	9,399	636,660
Scillies.....	9	2,090
Scotland.....	27,463	3,556,448
Shetlands.....	5,000	31,608
Sicily.....	22,200	2,600,000
Silesia (Austrian).....	1,981	511,381
Slavonia.....	3,656	400,000
South Australia.....	914,730	279,865
South Russia.....	172,585	6,089,302
Styria.....	8,671	1,217,367
Sweden proper.....	32,469	1,323,526
Tasmania.....	26,215	115,705
Texas.....	684,780	2,705,967
Tobolsk.....	531,959	1,086,848
Tonsk.....	329,024	588,756
Transbaikalia.....	240,770	430,780
Transylvania.....	21,159	2,101,727
Tuscany.....	9,287	2,142,525
Tyrol.....	11,287	911,887
Umbria.....	3,719	549,601
Utah.....	84,970	200,000
Venetia.....	9,000	2,642,807
Vermont.....	9,565	336,000
Wales.....	7,377	1,359,895
Washington.....	90,000	143,669
West Russia.....	162,442	9,822,259
Wisconsin.....	56,040	1,750,000
Wyoming.....	97,883	85,000

GRAND TOTAL.....14,057,230 292,719,851

The "cold facts" are, as usual, beyond the greatest achievements of fancy. This magnificent list of *one hundred and nine* States, Territories and provinces, shows that the idea that womanhood is a necessary and hopeless bar to freedom and self-government; that all women, whatever their genius, must forever be politically slaves of all men, however stupid and criminal,—is rejected by communities whose extent is over **FOURTEEN MILLIONS OF SQUARE MILES**, and whose population is nearly **THREE HUNDRED MILLIONS**! and that in this immense territory law, public sentiment, or both, admit that under some circumstances

*These figures are from the latest official returns and estimates

women may properly vote. It is also remarkable that many of these parts are those whereto immigration is flowing, and whose population is most rapidly growing; so that soon there will be several great empires where the women vote equally with the men.

"But why then does woman suffrage not work the benefits its advocates promise?" It does. From every quarter comes the same report, that women's partaking in elections, brings purer politics, better government, and fairer play for women. But this is under great disadvantages. In large regions woman's political freedom is still limited to school or village elections; in many it is confined to mere municipal ones; only in Wyoming is it equal in extent to masculine suffrage. In many of these numerous communities the mass of men are still disfranchised, and so are the mass of women.

Only in America has the grand idea of universal suffrage been put in full practice for men; but in all these communities the idea that womanhood whetsates life-long, exceptionless disfranchisement, has been abandoned; women vote to some extent or another in most

of them, and soon will vote to the same extent as men in all.

The Area Freedom has already in some degree conquered, is half as large again as the enormous British Empire; seventy-five per cent. greater than the vast dominions of the Tsar; four times the size of all Europe or Australasia; double that of both combined; almost equal to the North and South American continents together. Its population equals that of all North America, South America and Africa; and almost equals the population of all Europe.

Oh weary toilers for freedom, take courage and rejoice! Through years of ridicule, slander, and persecution we have kept alive the holy fire, proclaimed Liberty to all the earth, and warred on mighty wrongs. The seed we have sown bears splendid crops, the harvest day draws near. Despite your weariness the worst is past; despite the hindrances that remain, take courage and press on! Let the splendid measure of success the cause has won, inspire us to fresh toil; till the awful wrongs we strive against are withered at their roots, and the glory of real civilization blesses all the world!



POSTSCRIPT.

The following paragraph should have been inserted on page 4, but the information did not arrive till the pamphlet had been printed :

AFRICA.

The Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, where women have municipal suffrage, has about a million of square miles.

[For this information the author desires to make his acknowledgements to the Governor of Cape Colony, and his courteous subordinate, Mr. Charles S. Dawkins].

As this Colony includes also about 1,500,000 people, the totals on page 6 must be increased accordingly, to over FIFTEEN MILLIONS OF SQUARE MILES, and over 294,000,000 people.

The last paragraph but one on page 7 should read that Freedom's Conquests are nearly *seventy* per cent. larger than the British Empire ; nearly *ninety* per cent. greater than the Tsar's dominions ; larger than all America : and that woman suffrage exists on every continent in the world.

It is also ascertained that the petition method of electing and removing School Trustees does not cover *all* of Texas ; but this does not change the fact that the law making power which rules the whole State, admits women to vote in certain cases.

Some form of woman suffrage has been introduced in *twenty-four* of the forty-five States and Territories—an absolute majority of the whole.

**END OF
TITLE**